

# Palestine Perspectives

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*Inside* . FROM NATION TO REFUGEES



# Editorial Editorial Editorial

## IN THIS ISSUE

### FORUM

**The Death of a Child  
More Israeli than the Israelis**

*Michal Meron  
Philip Geyelin*

### PLO NEWS AND VIEWS

**Interview with Farouq Qaddoumi**

### LIFE UNDER OCCUPATION

**The Palestinians: From Nation to Refugees  
Lebanon: The Forgotten Occupation  
Palestinian Workers and the Iron Fist**

### WASHINGTON WATCH

**No "Yesh Gvul" in Washington (Commentary)  
USS Liberty: Survivors Want the Truth  
More Terrorism in the USA  
Israel's Spies in America**

### WORLD VIEW

**World Teachers Support Palestinians**

### BACK COVER

**Pogroms in Israel**

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## ISRAEL OWES THE PALESTINIANS

The way the shenanigans which for lack of a better term are known as the "peace process" have been going, more disasters lurk in the future of the peoples of the Middle East. The problems involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict make a major calamity possible, but the shenanigans which parade as a peace process make it almost inevitable... unless we stop fooling ourselves and begin to seek a peace process worthy of the name.

What many people seem to forget, or conveniently ignore, is that the Palestine question had been decided before in the absence of the Palestinian people. In 1947-49, the critical period in the modern history of Palestine when the United Nations decided to partition the country (1947), when Israel was established (1948), and when various Arab states signed armistice agreements with Israel (1949), the Palestinians had no voice, no votes, and no armies. They were relegated to political oblivion while the regional vultures quarrelled over their corpse.

The ongoing "peace process" is trying to treat us to a repeat performance of that folly. The attempt is again being made to decide the fate of the Palestinian people in absentia.

One can advance many arguments against this absurdity. One can say that it is both unfair and impractical as a way to achieve peace. But this is not the point that we wish to make here. The point is that it was tried before. And the results speak for themselves and say loudly and clearly that it does not work.

We believe that Israeli (and American) politicians—who have become the sole subscribers to this illusion—are sufficiently informed and intelligent to understand this fact. Then why do they persist, in this age of participatory society, in trying to resolve the Palestine question in the absence of the Palestinian people?

There are many explanations. One of them is political, meaning that they know that it is easier for Israel to grab more Palestinian land if it were to negotiate a settlement with non-Palestinians. It is not because the Palestinians are tougher than anybody else, but simply because it is their homeland and their fate that are being negotiated. As the Arab proverb says: "The one who is being beaten feels differently than the one who is counting the blows."

There is also a moral issue that is even more troublesome to the Israelis and their supporters. The Israelis may worry about other Arabs, but about the Palestinians they feel guilty (or ought to anyway). The Palestinians are the skeleton in the Israeli closet. Israel came into being by obliterating Palestine.

The Palestinians have tried to make it possible for the Israelis to overcome their moral dilemma by agreeing to limit themselves to the political issues involved: the issues of military occupation. The Palestinians know that the Israelis cannot face the moral issues and their willingness to stop at the political issues is a great—though unrecognized—Palestinian contribution to the peace process. Israel owes it to itself, as well as to the Palestinians and the Middle East, to concede this fact and to act accordingly. □

*M. Hallaj*



## THE DEATH OF A CHILD

Michal Meron

*[On 20 September 1985, a 5-year-old Palestinian child was shot dead by Israeli soldiers in the Gaza Strip while riding in his father's car. Although the Israeli authorities claimed that the soldiers fired at the tires when the car failed to heed a command to stop at a checkpoint, the boy was killed in the back seat and his father was wounded in the driver's seat. The following account was taken from a story published in the Israeli daily, **Yedi'ot Ahronot**, of 18 October 1985 under the title "Hard to live, hard to die." Translation from the Israel Shahak Papers —Editor:]*

You have to drive only for sixty minutes from Tel Aviv to find another world. Sixty minutes and you reach the Gaza Strip: a land of roadblocks, repeated car checks, body searches, and shootings. Massive military presence in the midst of a hostile civilian population. Children equipped with Molotov cocktails. Children (a little bigger) in Israeli army uniforms who came to Gaza after a long service in Lebanon and whose tense hands are quick to pull the trigger.

The Gaza Strip. Here you find the biggest refugee camp in the country: Jabaliya. Over half a million people live in Gaza and the surrounding refugee camps. After its conquest in the six day war, Gaza experienced stormy days. That time was called "the rule of the Kalashnikov." There were 550 acts of sabotage in one year, and the list of wanted saboteurs reached 300. At the end of the seventies, Gaza enjoyed some good years. Since 1980, the bad years have returned.

Until 1967, the border between Israel and the Gaza Strip was marked by a small ditch and a line of sparse outposts which separated them. During the war of attrition (1968-1970), the whole Strip was fenced off by a barbed wire fence, and since then the only way in and out is through the Erez roadblock.

The dependence of the Strip's inhabitants on Israel is total. Trade in Gaza is under Israeli control. There are severe restrictions, for example, on the export of fruits and vegetables. The residents are forbidden to stay overnight outside the area without special permits. Every shop owner has to put up a signboard in Hebrew, in order to enable soldiers who cannot read Arabic to know who participates in strikes and who does not, and who cooperates and who does not.

Every morning, more than 40,000 persons leave the Strip to work in Israel. They include children aged 9 to 12 years. Some 50 percent of the labor force of the Gaza Strip work outside. Over the years, the city has become something like a South African township; a dormitory town where migrant workers sleep...

The population density in the Gaza Strip is among the highest in the world: 1,400 persons per square kilometer. The poverty in the refugee camps is astonishing. People there collect rags and junk as if they were precious treasures. Sixty percent of the inhabitants of the Strip are refugees. Displaced persons, deprived of their own identity, embittered and frustrated.

The population of the Gaza Strip numbered 80,000 in 1948. Immediately after the 1948 war 200,000 refugees arrived. Today, half a million people live there, half of



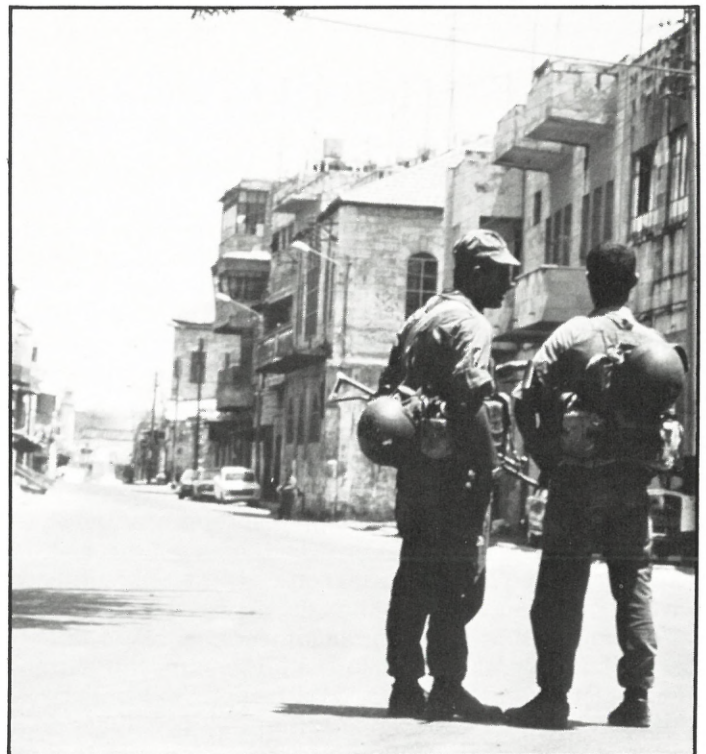
them below the age of 14. In the year 2000, more than a million people will be living in the Strip. Where will they find homes? How will they make a living? What iron fist will have to be used to curb the aspirations of a million people? The collective punishments, if they continue, will only increase the frustration, the hatred and the bitterness.

Sakhr Jandiya was not a person whom you would describe as bitter and depressed; at least not until that incident. Until a month ago, he was working, and he had a son and two little daughters. For 14 years he had worked for the Kolodny family in Kfar Maimon. He worked as an agricultural laborer; he always went to work on time and never missed a day.

That day [20 September 1985], after he returned from work, Sakhr went in his car—with his son and another man—to gather wood. His friend sat beside him, and his son sat in the back seat.

Sakhr reached an intersection. He did not see a roadblock, and he did not hear a command to stop. When he stopped at a stop sign at the intersection, he heard two shots. One of them hit him in the right leg. He looked and saw four soldiers standing on both sides of the car, and they were shooting at him, straight at him. Sakhr didn't understand what was happening. He opened the door of his Peugeot 404 and came out with his hands up. "When I opened the door," he said later, "the light was turned on in the car, and I heard my son crying. Then I heard one more shot from behind and saw my boy collapse. His chest was

*(continued on page 3)*







## DEATH (continued from page 2)

torn and shattered all over. Then the soldiers contacted somebody over the radio and officers arrived. They took me outside, stripped off my clothes and ordered me to lie down on the road. Nearby, I heard my son. I didn't see him, only heard him crying. Then a soldier came and told the officer standing near him: 'The boy is going to die. What shall we do with him?'

"I told them to leave me alone and to save my son, Ayman. They took him away in an ambulance, and I remained lying down on the road for about 45 minutes until an ambulance arrived from Gaza and took me to the hospital."

The father and the son were operated on in the Shifa Hospital in Gaza. The boy, Ayman, was flown by helicopter to the Soroka Hospital in Beersheba. However, this generous humanitarian act of the Israeli army did not prevent his death. Ayman Jandiya, age 5, died on Saturday, 21 September 1985.

The victims who get shot in Gaza are buried at night. Only at night. Ayman Jandiya, the boy who was killed by shots at the tires, was buried at night also. His mother said: "We were told to come [to the cemetery] at seven in the evening. We went earlier and dug a grave and waited. The body did not arrive at seven, nor at eight, nor at nine, nor at ten. At 10:30 at night, army cars arrived carrying many soldiers and dispersed the family. Only ten of the closest relatives were allowed to stay. They were asked to dig another grave, several meters from the grave that had already been dug. Ten minutes later, the boy's body arrived. At 11 o'clock, the burial was over." □

## MORE ISRAELI THAN THE ISRAELIS

*Philip Geyelin*

Old-timers in Congress thought they would never see the day. The Senate Appropriations Committee was meeting routinely to "markup" the foreign appropriations bill. A couple of Israel's faithful friends, Robert Kasten Jr. (R-Wis.) and Daniel Inouye (D-Hawaii) had slipped a provision into the Israeli-aid program that they claimed would add \$500 million or so in economic aid without costing U.S. taxpayers anything.

Business as usual, you might say. U.S. aid to Israel gets bigger every year, systematically, thanks to an endlessly energetic Israeli lobby. But this time it didn't work. This time, the Israeli issue gave way to the burning issue of budget deficits and the public debt. This time there was a real, honest-to-God fight, with some of Israel's best friends saying, in effect, enough is enough.

"Enough" in this case is something close to \$3.8 billion annually. Economic assistance to Israel in the current fiscal year would be about \$1.2 billion, up from \$785 million only three years ago. Military aid would total \$1.8 billion, up from \$1.4 billion last year. Contrary to past

practice of the Israelis paying for at least a part of it, it now comes entirely in the form of grants. To help underwrite Israel's economic recovery efforts, a special \$1.5 billion fund has been awarded, half of it in a supplemental appropriation to last year's aid, the other half in the current fiscal year.

But that is not enough for Kasten and Inouye, who wrote into the original bill a "buy down" of the interest Israel pays on its loans from the United States, from about 11.5 percent to 5 percent. The savings to Israel, in effect a gift from the United States, would amount to \$531,710,682.

But the U.S. government would have to pay for it. In an effort to seem not to be breaking through the budgetary ceiling for foreign aid, Inouye and Kasten did a little jiggery-pokery with unused funds of the Export-Import Bank, which conveniently totaled around \$500 million.

It all looks so innocent you would hardly know that Israel would be getting a whopping increase in U.S. aid. Except that Appropriations Committee Chairman Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) did know. So did Lawton Chiles (D-Fla.), whose responsibility as ranking member of the Budget Committee makes him especially deficit-conscious. And so did the new director of the Office of Management and Budget, James C. Miller III.

In confidential, identical letters to Hatfield and the ranking Democrat on Appropriations, John Stennis, Majority Leader Robert Dole, Kasten and Inouye, the OMB director deplored the use of "accounting gimmicks that will distort" Export-Import Bank budgeting and added that the Inouye-Kasten bookkeeping is "completely inconsistent with established budget-accounting principles." Aid to Israel is already at "extraordinary levels," he argued.

Hatfield was no less vehement, according to those present at the "markup" meeting. Arguing that all the other appropriations subcommittees had stayed within their prescribed ceilings, he told Inouye and Kasten that if there was an odd \$500 million lying around in the foreign aid budget, there were some American farmers who could use it.

Chiles told the two sponsors they were living in an "Alice in Wonderland dreamland." He said the Inouye-Kasten provision, while applicable only to this year's aid program, would almost certainly become a fixture; cutting it out next time around in an election year, or in any year, is not something Congress would be likely to do.

The outcome of the Inouye-Kasten ploy is in doubt. At some point it will go to the Senate floor, where opposition to the Export-Import Bank bookkeeping may prompt its sponsors to look for the money elsewhere in the aid program.

What makes this whole business all the more extraordinary is that Israel neither requested the "buy down" nor is actively supporting it, according to embassy spokesmen. They don't quite say that if the issue turns in their favor, they won't be smiling all the way to the bank. But you do get a certain sense that they too feel that enough is enough—that any more would be pushing their luck.

What's going on here would appear to be yet one more example of Israel's friends in America being more Israeli than the Israelis. □

[This article originally appeared in the *Washington Post* of 11 November 1985 under the title "One Too Many Gifts for Israel?" Israel's friends, embarrassed by the Pollard spy scandal, have been maintaining a low profile on this issue]



## INTERVIEW WITH FAROUQ QADDOUMI

*The PLO Condemns Terrorism, Believes in Armed Struggle and Arab Reconciliation*

[The following is a summary of an interview with the head of the Political Department of the Palestine Liberation Organization, Mr. Farouq Qaddoumi. It was conducted by Awad Yakhlef and published in Arabic in *Sawt Al-Bilad* of 27 November 1985]:

**Q:** *How do you see the prospects of peace in the Middle East?*

**A:** There are still major obstacles. Recent events, especially the Israeli air raid on PLO headquarters in Tunisia, indicate that Israel still dreams of obliterating the Palestinian national identity, when the whole world knows that peace in the Middle East is not possible without the Palestinian people and their attainment of their inalienable national rights.

**Q:** *What is your view of the Jordanian-Syrian rapprochement? Would it be at the expense of Palestinian-Jordanian relations?*

**A:** We welcome improved Jordanian-Syrian relations. The resolution of inter-Arab differences is essential to effective Arab support for the Palestinian cause. That is why the PLO, during the most recent Arab summit conference last August, encouraged and supported the formation of special conciliation committees to mediate Arab differences. The opinion that improved Jordanian-Syrian relations would be at our expense conflicts with our understanding.

**Q:** *Does the PLO see itself as part of a particular Arab grouping? How do you explain the PLO's close relations with Iraq and Egypt? Does that mean you have difficulties with other Arab states?*

**A:** The PLO opposes the polarization of the Arab world. Such polarization conflicts with Arab consensus and distracts the Arabs from their principal cause: the Palestine question.

Our relations with individual Arab states are determined by their position on decisions of Arab summit conferences and by the degree to which they support the Palestinian struggle and the resolutions of the Palestine National Council. Iraq, for example, has been highly supportive in spite of the burden it bears as a result of the war with Iran. We appreciate its loyal support. And Egypt, on the official and popular levels, stood with us when our enemies used the Achille Lauro episode to try to isolate us. We cannot but reciprocate Egypt's support and friendship.

**Q:** *What is your view, as the head of the PLO's Political Department, of the Cairo Declaration?*

**A:** In the Cairo Declaration, the PLO reaffirmed its policy which opposes international terrorism. It is Israel which practices state terrorism inside and outside occupied Palestine.

The declaration reaffirms our right to armed struggle in occupied Palestine. Our commitment not to engage in operations outside Palestine is conditional on an Israeli commitment to do the same. Otherwise, we are entitled to self-defense.

**Q:** *What is the true story of the Italian ship?*

**A:** This incident was used in the ugliest manner against



us, even though we thought it was wrong and denounced it. Apparently, the hijackers did not intend to seize the ship, but their detection prematurely led them to do so.

The PLO got involved as a mediator upon request from Egypt and Italy. Our action saved five hundred lives. I am surprised that the hijackers killed a passenger, but the uproar which followed was calculated to conceal the fact that the PLO saved lives, and cover up Israel's air raid on Tunis.

**Q:** *After twenty years, where does the PLO stand, and what is your strategy for the future?*

**A:** The PLO has made progress. The large majority of the international community now understands and supports the view that the Palestine question is not a refugee question but a national struggle for liberation and self-determination. Our cause has become an international cause supported by nations, states, and groups throughout the world.

We have also helped to reawaken the political consciousness of the Palestinian people everywhere, and in some cases we helped revolutionize the Arab masses. In Lebanon, for example, the people fought Israel and its domination.

Now, we must develop our efforts inside occupied Palestine, to help our people withstand the occupation and escalate their resistance to it. We need to continue to work to resolve Arab differences and to encourage a common Arab position, and we must continue our efforts to put an end to the war between Iraq and Iran in order to make it possible to stand united against the Zionist onslaught on the Arab nation. □

## PALESTINIAN JOURNALISTS

The General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists has been invited by the International Federation of Journalists to visit the Federation's headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, to discuss the problems of Palestinian journalism in the Israeli-occupied territories. The date of the meeting has not yet been determined.

Palestinian journalists and media have been principal victims of Israel's "iron fist" policy. Publications are frequently closed and barred from distribution, and they are subjected to a severe form of advance censorship which often results in the loss of one-third or more of the material they prepare for publication. Palestinian journalists have been primary targets for "administrative detention," house or town arrest, and deportation. At the end of July 1985, five Palestinian journalists under "house arrest" pleaded with the International Committee for the Protection of Journalists to intervene to restore their freedom and their right to work. In a memorandum to the committee, they said that they suffered a "double ordeal" because they were punished both as Palestinians and as journalists. [See text of letter in *Palestine Perspectives*, number 19, October 1985]. □



## Life Under Occupation

### LEBANON: THE FORGOTTEN OCCUPATION

If Israel cannot be prevailed upon to give up Taba, a small piece of Sinai belonging to Egypt, the only Arab country at peace with Israel, can it be expected to return Palestinian, Syrian, or Lebanese territories that it occupies? It certainly has not promised anyone to do so, not even within the context of a general peace in the Middle East.

Very few people are left who are not aware of Israel's intentions regarding the occupied Palestinian and Syrian territories. Many more people do not realize that there is also an occupied Lebanon. The fanfare in the media about Israel "completing" its withdrawal from the south of Lebanon in June 1985 gave a false impression that the Israeli occupation in Lebanon is finally over. Not true.

Israeli forces are still in Lebanon. They (with the assistance of an Israeli-recruited, trained, clothed, fed, armed, paid, and commanded mercenary force called the South Lebanon Army—SLA) still lord it over the territory and people of south Lebanon. Israel still occupies an area of Lebanon 5-12 miles wide and 80 miles long, an area which has 69 towns and villages and, on the eve of the Israeli invasion, had

115,000 residents.

Very little is heard these days about this "occupied North Bank." Part of it is the fault of the Lebanese themselves. Their continued sectarian feud is grist for the mill of the media and a convenient distraction from Israel's continued occupation of the Lebanese south. It covers up the continuing plight of Lebanese citizens in the grip of the Israeli occupation, who suffer virtually unseen by the rest of the world.

Occupied south Lebanon is being depleted of its population. It is difficult to know how many of them are left, but whole towns have ceased to exist. One such town is Sojod, population 2,000—formerly that is. No one lives there now.

Lebanese youth are primary targets for this Israeli effort to vacate the south of Lebanon. They are continually harassed, frequently summoned for interrogation, and they are tortured and humiliated. They are intimidated into serving in the mercenary SLA or the "village guards." If they refuse, they are hounded until they run away, and their families are evicted from the area.

Collective punishment against whole villages is routine. Villages which refuse to raise mercenaries are placed under curfew, their water and electricity supplies are cut off, their residents are ordered in the night to assemble in the village square or school yard and are interrogated for hours while their homes are searched and their property vandalized, many of their young men are taken away to unknown fate. Homes of people suspected of resistance are demolished,

and whole families are expelled.

One does not even have to resist to suffer. One only has to refuse to cooperate with his oppressors. Twenty families from the village of Meis-el-Jabal, for example, were expelled in the span of 48 hours only because some village youth deserted from the SLA. And the people of Sojod could not take it anymore, and now it is a ghost town. The Khiyam detention center, like Far'a prison in the West Bank, is an Israeli torture factory.

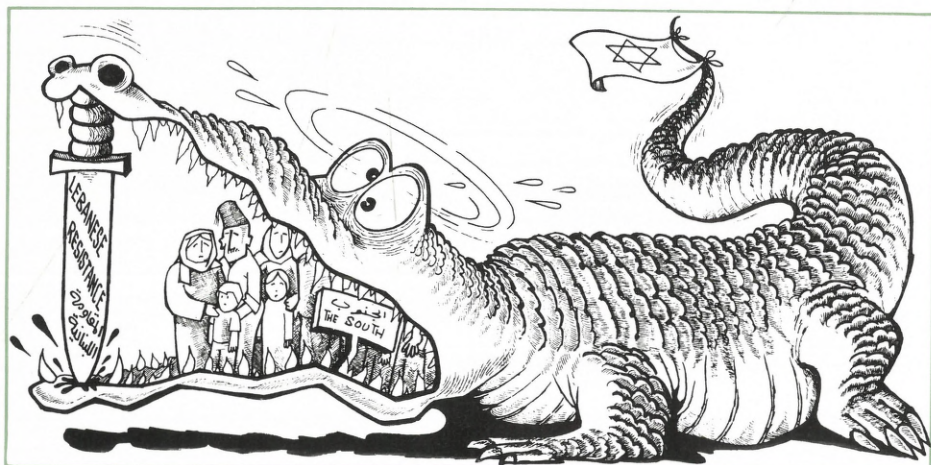
This is not to imply that the rest of Lebanon is free of Israeli harassment. Israeli military aircraft are constantly violating Lebanese airspace, its navy is frequently committing acts of piracy by seizing shipping to Lebanon in Lebanese and international waters, and its artillery often shells Lebanese towns and villages north of the occupied zone.

If this is what it's like after the "completion" of the occupation, peacemakers have their work cut out for them, and Israel has no right to complain that it is not permitted to enjoy the blessings of peace. For peace is not a commodity that one secures, but an attitude and a behavior one reciprocates with others. □

### ZIONISM AND RACISM

A conference on "Black-Jewish Relations in the United States" was recently held at the University of the District of Columbia in Washington. In his keynote address to the conference, Dr. Sidney H. Schwarz, the executive director of the Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington explained to his audience why "Zionism is not a dirty word." Zionism is not racist, he asserted. "Nothing gives greater lie to the accusation that Zionism is racism than the dramatic rescue, by Israel, of 10,000 starving Ethiopian Black Jews and their successful resettlement in Israel."

There is much that is debatable in this statement by Dr. Schwarz, but one question is enough: "Why was there not a single 'non-Jew' entitled to Israel's mission of mercy? Do non-Jews deserve to perish in Zionist ethics?" In that case, wouldn't "racist" be an understatement when describing Zionism? □





## PALESTINIAN WORKERS AND THE IRON FIST

[This report about union-busting in the occupied territories appeared in *News From Within*, the newsletter of the Jerusalem-based Alternative Information Center, in its issue of 1 November 1985. It deals with the Israeli effort to destroy Palestinian trade unions in the occupied territories through the use of administrative detention against their officials]:

It remains a particularly frustrating aspect of administrative detention that one never knows why the arrestee is being detained. No charge is being made against these people. People abroad—those who have heard anything about it—make fuzzy assumptions that these people are “terrorists.” People in Israel make the same assumption (though with a different twist, since most Israelis accept that even Palestinian political activism should be included in Israel’s definition of terrorism). Arabs in the occupied territories tend to nod wisely and say, it was because he was a member of such and such a union. And yet other occupied territory residents will say—of the same detainee—no, it was because of that article he wrote, or that office he managed, or his poetry. No one knows for sure. One can only speculate. Even the detainees’ defense lawyers can only speculate; incredibly, they aren’t allowed to know the reason for the arrests either.

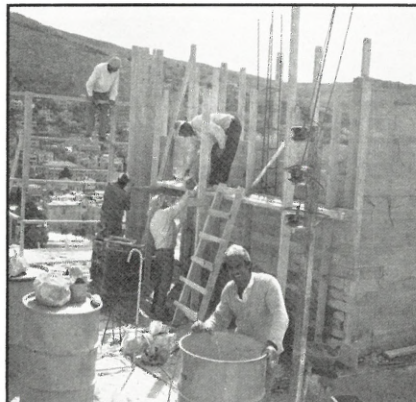
Still, when looking at the growing list of detainees, one is impressed by a few trends. One sees a sprinkling of journalists, of businessmen, a lawyer, a university lecturer, but these are the exceptions. What one sees mostly is a very large number of university students (over thirty, at the time of this writing), and an alarmingly large number of union organizers.

Being a union organizer has in fact become a risky enterprise in this age of Peres’ renewed purges. In the last few weeks, the Workers Unity Bloc alone has lost nine members of its 17-member Executive Committee to West Bank prisons. The total number of union organizers now serving indefinite jail terms—again, for charges un-

specified—is almost twenty.

One can’t help but wonder what the problem is. Are these unionists actually being accused of complicity in terrorist attacks or of receiving PLO funds? If so, why aren’t the charges made public? Or is it, perhaps, that union organizing itself poses a threat to Israel’s security? At present, West Bank unions aren’t sufficiently established even to inform their members of their legal rights—let alone to wield enough influence to insure they receive them. What would happen, one might wonder, if Arab laborers discovered they were actually *entitled* to all those Israeli government benefits they’re not receiving? Or what if they organized sufficiently to force Israeli employers to give them wages equal to those of their Israeli Jewish counterparts (they presently get close to half)? Yet more alarming, what if they should threaten the very laws that force them to commute daily in and out of Israel, or the hire-by-the-day system that eliminates job security, wage increases, promotion rights and everything else? The effect on Israel’s economy would be profound, a truly serious “security” risk, calling for some good old-fashioned union-busting.

International silence about the administrative detention of unionists and other “violators of Israel’s security” is shameful, but not entirely unexpected. The very absence of specific charges makes the overtly repressive nature of the phenomenon hard to grasp by those abroad. When Israel claims that Palestinian labor organizing is a threat, linked to factions within the PLO, the international community falls silent before illegal arrests and harassment that would raise an inter-



national outcry in, say, Poland. The secondary Israeli accusation that the West Bank Unions are not real unions because their activities are primarily political is an argument that carries strange weight in Western circles long familiar with the AFL-CIO, Poland’s Solidarity movement, and even Israel’s own Histadrut. And yet, again, the absence of charges against the West Bank unionists veils the issue. We flounder about in our speculations, and the world’s gaze is blind. □

## DEPORTATION ILLEGAL

Two legal organizations concerned with human rights filed a brief with the Israeli Supreme Court on behalf of four Palestinians threatened with expulsion from occupied Palestine. The two American organizations, the National Lawyers Guild, and the National Conference of Black Lawyers, submitted an *amicus curiae* brief in which they said that Israel violates both customary and treaty international law by deporting residents of the occupied territories.

The four Palestinians who are appealing to the Supreme Court deportation orders against them are Dr. Azmi Shuaibi, Ali Abu Hilal, Zaki Abu Statieh, and Hassan Abdul Jawad.

The *amicus curiae* brief says that Israeli deportation of Palestinians from the occupied territories raises important legal issues concerning human rights which are protected by customary and conventional international law. Such laws, codified in the Hague Conventions, the Nuremberg Principles, and the Geneva Civilians Convention prohibit the deportation of civilians from militarily occupied territories “for any purpose.” The brief concludes with an appeal to rescind deportation orders now pending and to order the return of deportees who have already been expelled from the country.

Thousands of Palestinians and their family members have been expelled from the West Bank and Gaza since Israel occupied them in 1967. Since August 1985, 21 Palestinians have been expelled, excluding the 4 who are appealing to the Supreme Court. □



## THE PALESTINIANS: FROM NATION TO REFUGEES

Until the 1970s, the Palestine question was narrowly understood to be a humanitarian refugee question. To symbolize this change in the status of the Palestinian people from nation to refugees, the United Nations General Assembly dropped the question of Palestine as an item on its agenda, and until 1974, when that item was restored, it discussed the plight of the Palestinians as refugees.

In the 1970s, the world community began to understand the political nature of the Palestine question, and to deal with it as an issue of national liberation and self-determination. It came to be recognized for what it is: the problem of a people whose country was hijacked and colonized, and who were deprived of the universally-conceded right to national independence.

Although this correction in the perception of the Palestine question was an essential prerequisite to any serious effort to deal with the Arab-Israeli conflict, it overshadowed the human tragedy of Palestinian homelessness and exile. The most accurate understanding of the Palestine question should encompass both of its dimensions: the political and the humanitarian. It is a political issue of national self-determination as well as a humanitarian issue of homeless refugees.

### *The Exile*

The problem of Palestinian refugees dates from the moment of

Israel's establishment, because it was a direct consequence of that event. Israel, unlike all states which came into being since World War II, was not the product of the decolonization process which had freed scores of nations from foreign rule. On the contrary, it was an act of colonization in which foreign immigrants from all over the world converged on an already inhabited country and displaced an indigenous society. In the fullest sense, the dismantlement and displacement of Palestinian society was the price of Jewish statehood.

Since Israel was established to be "the state of the Jews and not only a Jewish state," according to Zionist terminology, "non-Jews" had no place and had to be cleared out of it. Thus, the Palestinians were expellees and exiles rather than refugees, although the last term has been the most commonly used to describe the homeless Palestinians.

For this reason, the only just solution to the "refugee" problem is repatriation rather than resettlement in the lands of involuntary exile. In recognition of this fact, the United Nations, even at a time when it was still intent on converting Palestine into Israel, resolved in 1948 that the Palestinians were entitled to repatriation to their homeland from which they had been expelled. This resolution has been repeatedly reaffirmed since then.

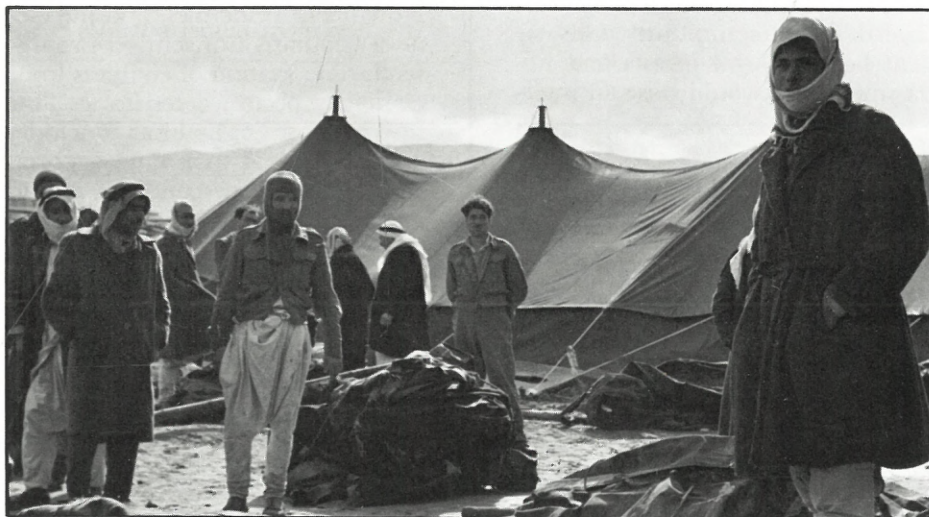
The Palestinians themselves have always held that they were not refugees seeking new homelands,

but exiles yearning to return to their ancestral home. The Palestinian writer Jabra I. Jabra voiced this Palestinian feeling in his account of his own experience when he was forced into exile in 1948. He wrote: "If anyone used the word refugee with me, I was furious. I was not seeking refuge. None of my Palestinian co-wanderers were seeking refuge. We were offering whatever talent or knowledge we had, in return for a living, for survival. We were knowledge peddlers pausing at one more stop on our seemingly endless way. When in the autumn of 1948 the customs men asked me upon arrival in Baghdad to open my luggage for inspection I offered them a battered suitcase full of books and papers, a small box full of paints and brushes, and half a dozen paintings on plywood. I was not a refugee, and I was proud as hell."

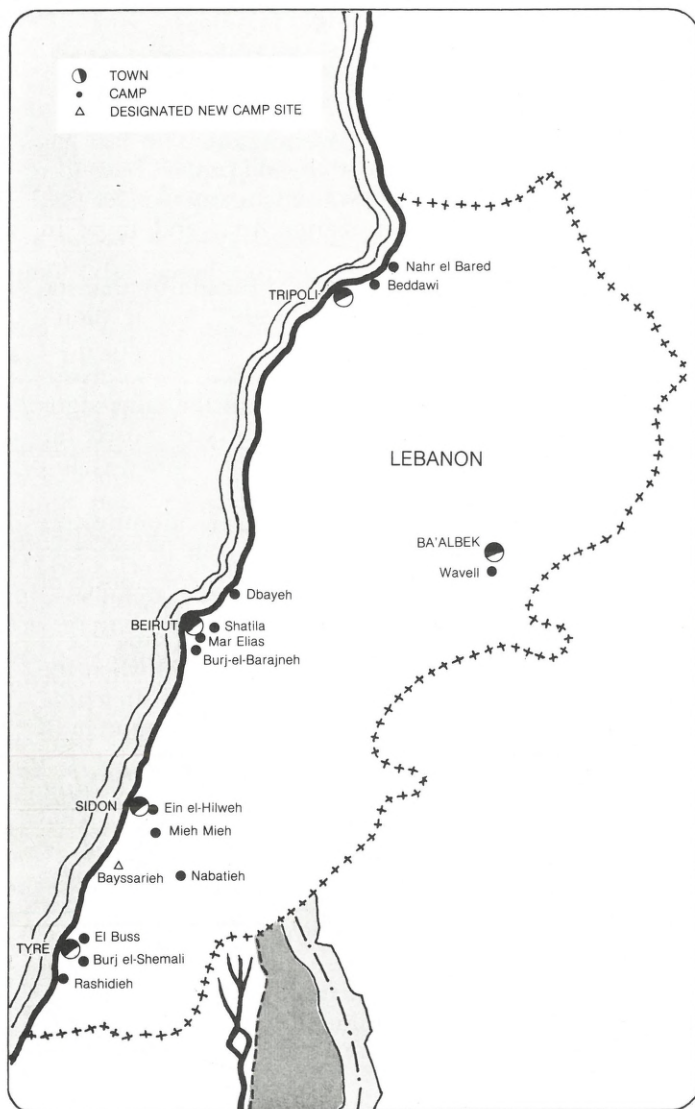
### *From Displacement to Genocide*

Israel, not content with the displacement of the Palestinian people, pursued and hunted them in their lands of exile. Their very existence symbolized the injustice Israel wanted to conceal. Thus, describing their attachment to their homeland and their desire to return as "irredentism," it pursued them beyond Palestine's borders in an attempt to force them to bury their dream. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon which culminated in the massacres of Sabra and Shatila cannot be comprehended otherwise.

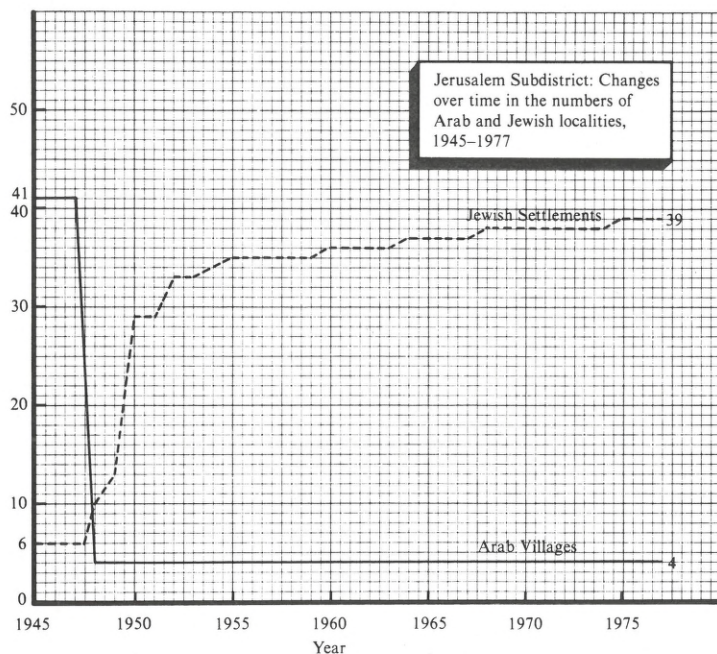
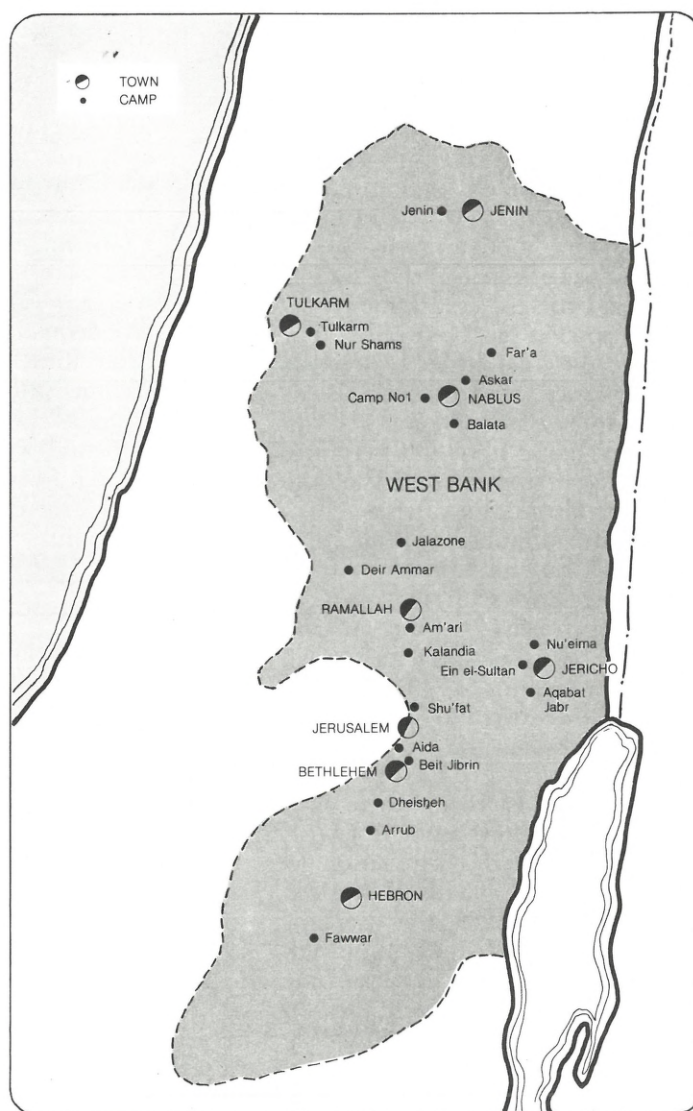
To support its ideological rejection of the right of the Palestinians to return, Israel worked quickly to create practical impediments. Within months after it was established, it brought into the country hundreds of thousands of Jewish settlers and demolished more than four hundred Palestinian towns and villages. And it enacted the racist "Law of Return" which reserved only to Jews the right to settle in Palestine. The genocidal nature of the Zionist usurpation of Palestine is represented by the accompanying graphs which depict the Palestinians own holocaust. □





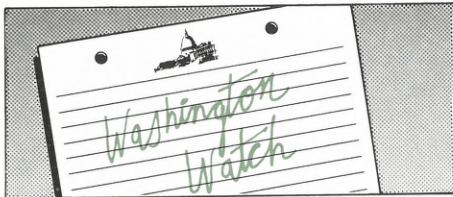


- ### Statistics
- More than 60 refugee camps in occupied Palestine and the surrounding Arab states.
  - Total number of camp refugees registered with UNRWA: 2,093,545
  - In 10 camps in Jordan: 799,724
  - In 20 camps in the West Bank: 357,704
  - In 8 camps in the Gaza Strip: 427,892
  - In 13 camps in Lebanon: 263,599
  - In 10 camps in Syria: 244,626
- (Source: UNRWA 1985)



Graph taken from Basheer K. Nijm and Bishara Muammar, *Toward the De-Arabization of Palestine/Israel: 1945-1977*. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company), 1984. Maps Source: UNRWA 1985.





## ISRAEL'S SPIES IN AMERICA

*Who was Pollard spying for?*

The arrest of Jonathan Pollard in Washington on charges of spying for Israel was not the first evidence that Israel has been engaged in such activities for some time. In February 1982, a CIA report seized by the Iranians when they took over the US embassy in Tehran revealed that the Americans were well aware that Israel was prepared to spy on its ally.

In spite of the attempts to play down both incidents, the question is being asked as to why the Israelis should seek to obtain, by covert means, information they could have had merely by asking for it. The suspicion has been raised that some of the intelligence material is being traded with the USSR in return for the issue of exit visas to Russian Jews. It would certainly explain the stop-go policy of the Kremlin on the issue of visas. Peaks of Jewish emigration in 1963, 1972 and 1979 do not appear to have been correlated with the political relationship between Israel and the USSR. Even when the USSR broke off relations in 1967, emigration had been reduced to a very low level well before the Israeli attack on Egypt that caused the rift.

On the other hand, there is a strong correlation between Jewish emigration and the acquisition by the USSR of key items of Western technology. In 1963, the Russians made some surprisingly rapid advances in the design of supersonic aircraft and in microelectronics. In both cases the technology involved required closely guarded "know-how" as distinct from information obtainable from published papers. After 1972, "large-scale integration" became essential for the increasingly complex missile guidance systems and once again, the Russians, starting from scratch,

*(continued on page 11)*

## COMMENTARY... NO "YESH GVUL" IN WASHINGTON

Israel continues to get away with murder in Washington. This fact has been so repeatedly confirmed that its representatives and proxies have lost all inhibitions in the pursuit of their master's voice. Is it any wonder that they feel free to bomb in Boston, kill in Santa Ana, and burn in Washington?

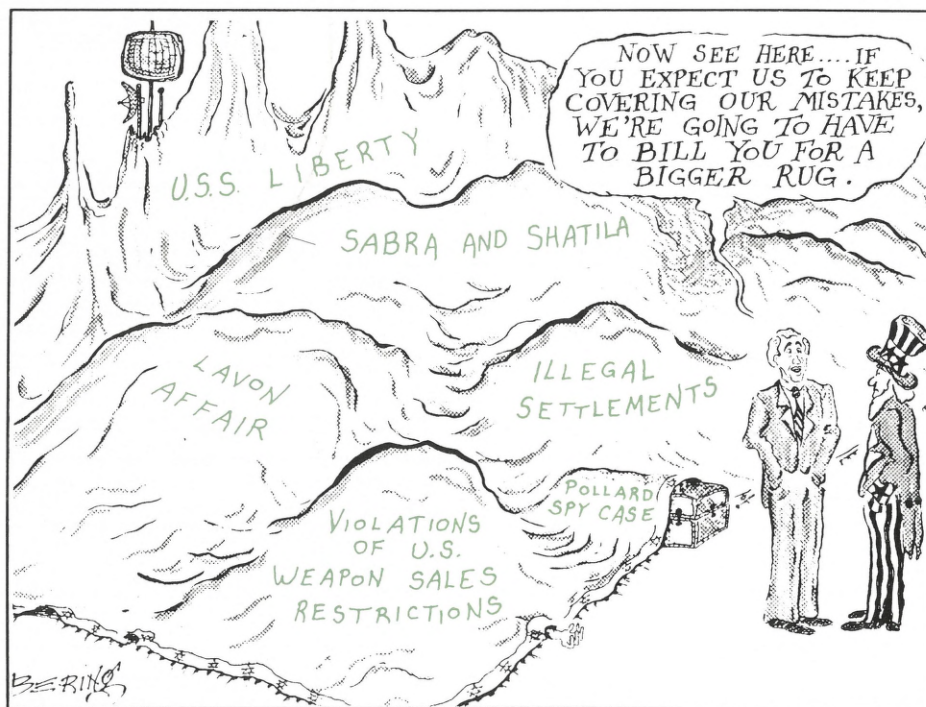
Israel's policies in the occupied territories raised the possibility that the United States government would say "that's enough," but it didn't happen. Its repeated theft of U.S. nuclear materials and technology, its rampage in Lebanon, its abuse of U.S. military assistance, its bombardment of Arab capitals from Baghdad to Tunis, and all of the other signs that America's heavily subsidized protege had gone berserk raised the prospect of the U.S. government saying "that's enough," but it didn't happen.

Not only that, but every fit of Israeli madness is used by its mouthpieces inside and outside the government to splash another coat of paint to conceal the corrosion. The latest episode involved Israel's corruption of American citizens to spy on their country for a few pieces of silver.

At first, Israel's protectors tried to conceal the facts; "spying for a foreign country," they said trying to keep Israel out of it. And when the facts were no longer possible to hide, Israel "apologized," and stretching the limits of credulity claimed that the Israeli government was innocent of the misdeeds of its agents and diplomats in Washington.

So far nothing is surprising, except to people who don't quite understand Israel and the Zionist shadow it casts over this country. What was more surprising, however, was the hasty acceptance of that apology as an adequate recompense of Israel's betrayal of an ally, a provider, and a protector. "We are satisfied with the Israeli apology," Secretary of State George Shultz was quick to rule. But Senator Moynihan stole the show. Israel's apology, he said—audaciously looking into the television cameras—was a decent act and demonstrated friendship and democracy!!!

Even in Israel people are found who have enough integrity to say "yesh gvul," there is a limit, to their government's madness. But there seems to be no limit here. □





## USS LIBERTY: SURVIVORS WANT THE TRUTH

### *Admiral Moorer: Legitimate Questions Remain Unanswered*

Congress is being asked to investigate the Israeli attack on the U.S.S. *Liberty* during the Arab-Israeli war of 1967. Thirty-four American sailors were killed and 171 wounded in the Israeli assault on the *Liberty*. The call for a congressional inquiry was made in a press conference held at the National Press Club in Washington on 11 December 1985.

The *Liberty*, a communications ship belonging to the U.S. Navy, was in the eastern Mediterranean when Israeli gunboats and military aircraft attacked it and severely damaged it on 8 June 1967. Israel claimed at the time that it was "a case of mistaken identity," and the Johnson administration was quick to accept that incredible excuse for the Israeli attack. A subsequent investigation—intended to put the lid on the case rather than to uncover the truth about it—led to the formation of the U.S.S. *Liberty* Veterans Association by the survivors of the crew, who insist that the Israeli sneak attack on their ship and the murder of 34 of their shipmates deserve to be truthfully recorded.

One of the survivors, Mr. James Ennis, who was the deck officer on the *Liberty* at the time of the Israeli attack, wrote a book (*The Assault on the Liberty*) relating the incredible story of the subsequent cover-up by the Johnson administration.

Participants in the Washington press conference included Mr. Ennis, Admiral Thomas H. Moorer (former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Chief of Naval Operations), Mr. Stan White (Chairman of the *Liberty* Veterans Association), and Mr. Joseph C. Lentini, former petty officer who was wounded on the *Liberty*. Ambassador Andrew I. Kilgore, president of the American Educational Trust, which sponsored the press conference, chaired the meeting.

Admiral Moorer said that U.S. cooperation with Israel and its friends in the cover-up has con-



**Injured American sailors**

vinced many people around the world that they dominate America. Stan White, in a telegram he sent to Secretary of State George Shultz, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, Attorney General Edwin Meese, and FBI Director William Webster, asked in the name of the *Liberty* Veterans Association that the case of the attack on the *Liberty* be reopened and that a similar cover-up in the case of Jonathan Pollard's spying for Israel not be permitted. The following are the texts of these two statements.

#### *Admiral Moorer's Statement*

We are asking for an investigation into the attack on the *USS Liberty* which occurred on June 8, 1967, on the fourth day of the six-day Arab-Israeli war. Israel said publicly at the time that the attack was a case of mistaken identity. There were many good reasons for the U.S. to disbelieve that explanation. But, apparently for political reasons at the time, the U.S. investigation was limited to internal communications matters which contributed to U.S. vulnerability. The key questions remain. Why did Israel attack the U.S. Naval ship?

Why has the U.S. never conducted its own investigation to answer that question? It is these two unanswered questions which have caused so much grief to the families of the 34 Americans who were killed in the attack, and to the 171 Americans who were wounded.

In the absence of official answers, the world has reached its own conclusions. Israel has concluded that, ultimately, anything it does to or in the United States will be forgotten or forgiven, provided it apologizes.

Based upon their own statements, it appears that other Middle East countries have concluded that the U.S. is so completely dominated by Israel and its American friends that it is an unreliable ally in the Middle East.

Our European allies and our Soviet adversaries have reached similar conclusions. None are in the best interests of the United States.

Finally, our own people, particularly those personally concerned with the case of the *Liberty*, increasingly believe that the institutions designed to protect their interests have failed them in this case. Their legitimate questions about the attack on the *Liberty* remain

*(continued on page 11)*



## USS LIBERTY

(continued from page 10)

unanswered officially. Some charge that they have been intimidated when they have sought answers on their own.

In reopening this case that has festered for 18 years, we are well aware that we cannot bring back the dead, or restore the wounded to the health they enjoyed before the attack. We can, however, keep faith with them and their families, and with the oaths we swore when we entered the service of our country. The answers, whatever they may be, can be no more damaging to the U.S. than the perceptions that have developed at home and abroad around this tragedy. It is, in our opinion, time to examine the Israeli attack on the *USS Liberty* and, if at all possible, to make all of the findings public. We call upon the Congress, to conduct a hearing similar to that conducted by the Congress with regard to the seizure of the *Pueblo* by the North Koreans in 1968.

### White's Telegram

I am chairman of the USS Liberty Veterans Association, whose members are survivors and former servicemen on the U.S. Naval ship attacked in international waters by Israel on June 8, 1967, with 34 American fatalities and 171 Americans wounded.

Although Israel eventually paid compensation to those wounded and to the families of those killed in that surprise and wrongful attack on a U.S. Naval ship, there has never been a full public investigation and disclosure as to the causes of the attack. Nor has there been any admission of wrongdoing by Israel. Because so much was hushed up, ignored or distorted, our organization was formed to assure that the American people eventually gain access to all of the facts.

It is for that purpose that I am respectfully sending you this telegram. My concern as chairman of the USS Liberty Association is that another cover-up such as that which occurred concerning the attack on our U.S. Naval ship not be allowed to take place concerning the full possible ramifications of

Israeli involvement in the Pollard matter.

Prosecution of the Pollards is properly the responsibility of the U.S. Justice Department and is not the focus of this communication. My concern is simply that the investigation and resulting prosecution be addressed with all of the vigilance and promptness of the Walker and other recent espionage cases.

As the *Washington Post* editorially pointed out last Sunday, the Pollard case is being treated in Israel as though Israel is the victim and the United States the aggressor, instead of just the opposite.

All of this recalls the manner in which the *USS Liberty* episode was treated in Israel. In both situations, there has been a pattern of wrongful and unprovoked Israeli action against specific and basic U.S. interests, and then a carefully-managed cover-up, with new and sometimes conflicting Israeli explanations offered to account for each new fact that surfaces.

I want to be very clear that I am not anti-Israel. But I am pro-America. And as the *USS Liberty* attack and the Pollard case should make clear, there are times when America's and Israel's interests are not the same.

U.S. compliance with Israeli attempts to manage the information that emerges is not in the interests of our country. I submit that what is at stake in the present investigation is the effectiveness and honesty of our government's investigative capabilities, and our willingness as a nation to face the truth, no matter how difficult that may be. Such effectiveness and honesty by our nation's institutions is necessary to retain the public confidence so essential to the survival of our free and democratic institutions.

It is with these concerns in mind, and against the background of having personally served on the *USS Liberty* when it was attacked, that I am respectfully sending this telegram. □

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## PHANTOM ANTI-SEMITISM

A New York Jew has been arrested on suspicion of being responsible for acts of vandalism against Jewish-owned shops in November 1985. New York police sources believe that the suspect, 38-year-old Gary S. Dworkin, is alone responsible for smashing 13 shop windows, an act which Jewish organizations were quick to blame on anti-Semites. Jewish merchants and the Jewish Community Relations Council of New York offered a \$5,000 reward for information leading to an arrest in the case.

The incident raised fears of anti-Semitism in the area, and it was labeled as the "Kristallnacht" attack, implying that it was the work of neo-Nazis. The New York police said that Dworkin, who admitted his responsibility for the acts of vandalism, explained that he had been mistreated by religious Jews and by Israel, and he said that he wanted "to strike back." □

## ISRAEL'S SPIES

(continued from page 9)

quickly built up the expertise. In 1979, the information traded appears to have involved the software techniques necessary for the advanced radar systems that are part of the foundations of Reagan's "Star Wars" concept.

In recent years, the Russians appear to have been able to get hold of most of the fundamental technologies from legitimate sources in spite of the fact that the Zionist lobby has been partly responsible for the US government imposing even tighter "CoCom" restrictions on the export of Western technology. If the Israelis wish to trade information for the release of Soviet Jews, they will have to supply secret intelligence rather than technological data.

Whatever the motives behind the Israeli espionage activities in the US, the CIA will be very anxious to know the extent of the spy networks—and where the information is going. □

Reprinted from *Middle East International* (London) No. 265 (20 December 1985)



## MORE TERRORISM IN THE USA

### *Abourezk: ADC Lives On*

Terrorism against Arab-Americans continued in the midst of an anti-Arab campaign encouraged by the media's coverage of recent hijackings in the Middle East. Capitalizing on these events, the Zionist chorus in America orchestrated an anti-Arab racist campaign, creating an atmosphere conducive to a series of terrorist attacks designed to intimidate Arab-Americans into silence.

The latest outrage was the destruction of the national offices of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) in Washington by arsonists on 29 November. It was the third act of violence against ADC during the past few months. In August, two Boston police officers were injured while detonating a bomb found at ADC's office there. In October, a bomb blast in the ADC's office in Santa Ana, California, killed Mr. Alex Odeh, Southern California regional coordinator, and injured several other people in neighboring offices. The fire in the Washington office was the third in this series of attacks.

In other recent attacks against Arab-Americans, a firebomb destroyed a Muslim place of worship in Houston. In addition, Arab-Americans and their institutions have received numerous violent threats throughout the country. In Denver, Muslim Eid services had to be held under police protection as a result of such threats.

In a press conference held in Washington on 3 December, a few days after the latest attack, former senator James G. Abourezk, the national chairman of the ADC, said that it was part of a continuing campaign to intimidate Arab-Americans and to silence them. "Although the series of violent attacks on us are without question designed to intimidate us into silence," a press release issued by ADC said, "it is inconceivable to me that anyone would think that such terrorism could succeed...." ADC intends to stay in business, the statement said.

In an answer to a reporter's question, Mr. Abourezk said that some fanatics have been encouraged by "the lynch atmosphere" which has been permitted to grow in this country due to the failure of public officials to condemn anti-Arab racism and domestic terrorism and by the failure of law enforcement agencies to undertake a more vigorous effort to identify and punish the criminals responsible for anti-Arab terrorism.

In his press statement, ADC chairman Abourezk also announced that his organization intends to conduct its own investigation of the attacks against it and urged the law enforcement authorities to intensify their efforts "to bring to justice those responsible for these cowardly acts." The statement expressed disappointment in the FBI. "We are disappointed that the FBI, which entered the previous cases, has not yet chosen to enter this one—even though the latest terrorist act and the ones which preceded it must surely be linked, and even though these acts clearly fall within the FBI's anti-terrorist jurisdiction." Abourezk was scheduled to meet with FBI Director William Webster and a high-ranking official from the Justice Department.

Abourezk said that the ADC was preparing a statement denouncing the importation of terrorism into

the United States, which his organization would invite individuals and groups to endorse. The statement would then be published as an advertisement in various newspapers.

"Most importantly," the ADC press release continued, "we believe that political leaders around the country have a responsibility to denounce terrorism within the United States with at least as much vigor as they denounce it outside our borders." ADC called on members of congress and the administration, as well as city and state leaders, "to make the strongest possible public statements letting these criminals know that they will not get approval, either passive or active, from any quarter in this country."

The deputy executive director of ADC, Barbara Shahin, said that ADC had received a number of telegrams threatening further attacks on ADC. Copies of the telegrams, made available to the press, were sent from New York in the name of the national director of the Jewish Defense League (JDL). FBI sources have indicated that the JDL is suspected of responsibility for the attacks, including the one which resulted in the murder of Alex Odeh. Ms. Shahin said that the ADC had no way of knowing if the telegrams were genuine.

*(continued on page 13)*



ADC offices after the fire

Photo by Dean Rutz/The Washington Times



ADC (continued from page 12)

Four of the five telegrams distributed to the press were similarly worded. "Sorry you were out when we called," one of them said; "Hope to visit you again soon." The most tasteless of the telegrams said: "We have Bassam Shakas legs." It is an obvious reference to the 1980 bomb attacks on Palestinian mayors by Jewish terrorists in the occupied territories, in which Nablus mayor Bassam Shak'a lost his legs.

As he spoke at his press conference, Mr. Abourezk was flanked by the presidents of several Arab-American organizations in an expression of solidarity with ADC and to indicate general concern in the Arab-American community for lawless and racist campaign against them.

### PHRC PRISONERS' SUPPORT NETWORK

The Palestine Human Rights Campaign (PHRC) established a "Support Network" for Palestinian political prisoners in the Israeli-occupied territories. It hopes to involve its chapters throughout the country, as well as peace, religious, human and civil rights organizations in this effort to assist political prisoners, people threatened with deportation and their families, and in generating pressure on the Israeli military authorities to alleviate harsh prison conditions.

The group lists the following goals among its objectives:

- To build a network of activists who will lend support to the prisoners and their families.
- To apply pressure on the occupation authorities to secure the release of political detainees and to improve intolerable prison conditions.
- To establish an educational program in cooperation with other organizations interested in human rights in order to increase public awareness of the problems of Palestinian political prisoners.
- To research and publish reports on the prisoners, prison conditions and abuses.

PHRC has issued a call to all interested individuals and organizations to join in this humanitarian effort on behalf of the political prisoners. □

## LAW YEARBOOK

One of the least familiar aspects of the Palestine question is the degree to which international laws and conventions have been ignored and violated in the process of transforming Palestine to Israel. Now, there is a new specialized publication devoted entirely to the legal dimension of the Palestine question. It is *The Palestine Yearbook of International Law*, an annual journal of which volume 1 appeared in 1984. *The Yearbook* is published by Al-Shaybani Society of International Law in Cyprus.

The neglect of law in the treatment of the Palestine question and the Arab-Israeli conflict has been one of its persistent characteristics. As the journal's editor put it: "All through this conflict one tool of problem-solving has been neglected, and deliberately so. This is the instrument of the law. International law has successfully developed various techniques of conflict-avoidance, conflict-moderation and conflict-settlement depending on the particular state it has reached. At none of these stages of the Palestine conflict was law ever utilized by decision-makers as an effective policy alternative to violence."

The 267-page *Yearbook* contains a variety of topics, including articles, court decisions, military orders and a bibliography. □

## PALESTINIAN HISTORY

[Starting with this issue, *Palestine Perspectives* adds this feature on Palestine. In each issue, a Palestinian personality, place, or event will be selected for this column. The information will be based on material from *The Palestinian Encyclopedia*, published in Arabic in 1984].

### Ibrahim Touqan 1905-1941

Palestinian poet and literary figure. He was born in Nablus to one of its most prominent families in 1905, when Palestine was ruled by the Ottoman Empire. He studied in Nablus and at St. George's School in Jerusalem. In 1923, he was ad-

mitted to the American University in Beirut (AUB), at that time the most prestigious university in the Middle East and the alma mater of most of the region's elite. He graduated in 1929 and returned to Palestine.

When he was a student at the AUB, Ibrahim Touqan published a number of poems which called attention to his literary gifts. The Lebanese press called him "The University Poet."

When he returned home, he became an instructor at Najah National School, which later became Najah National University. A year later, he was offered a position on the faculty of the AUB, where he taught Arabic literature for two years. He could not stay away from Palestine for long, however, and he returned to teach at Rashidiyya School in Jerusalem.

When the Palestine Broadcasting Station was established in 1936, Touqan was appointed the director of its Arabic programs. It was an opportunity to reach a wider audience through radio, and he did so through his poetry, short stories, plays, and lectures on literature. Zionist and British officials in the colonial administration which governed Palestine at that time harassed him and accused him of inflammatory nationalist writing, and in 1940 he was dismissed from his position.

Touqan went to Iraq to teach at a teachers college, but shortly after that he suffered from severe internal hemorrhage and returned to Palestine for treatment. He died in Nablus on 2 May 1941.

Among Ibrahim Touqan's poems are *The Angels of Mercy* and *Red Tuesday*, which derived its title from Tuesday June 17, 1930, when the British colonial authorities executed three Palestinian patriots: Fu'ad Hijazi, Muhammad Jamjoum, and 'Ata Al-Zeer. His short stories included *The Pearl Necklace* and *The Price of Honesty*. His works reflected the Palestinian tragedy at a time when Palestine faced a dual assault by Zionist colonists and their British patrons, and the Palestinian people's struggle for their national rights. In his lifetime, short as it was, he earned the title of "Palestine's Poet." □



## WORLD TEACHERS IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINIANS

*The following is the text of the resolution approved by the World Federation of Teachers Unions in its 13th annual conference:*

The 13th Statutory Conference of the FISE, having heard with due attention the statements made by the participants in the Conference, expressing their solidarity with the teachers and the people of Palestine and Lebanon declares:

The Conference states its solidarity with the teachers and the people of Palestine and calls upon the teachers' organizations in the world and upon world public opinion to intensify their material and moral support of the struggle of the Palestinian people for winning their legitimate national rights, including the right to return to their homeland, as well as the right to self-determination without interference, for building an independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization—the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

The Conference expresses its profound anxiety at the attacks on Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut and insists on their wide condemnation and on putting an immediate end to them.

The Conference expresses its solidarity with the Palestinian teachers in the occupied Palestinian territories, and supports their demands to obtain the right to be organized in trade union movements, demands for improvement in the conditions of their labor and of their material and moral status. The Conference likewise calls upon the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East and upon the UNO to help put an end to the closing down of schools in the camps of the Palestinian refugees and for finding a solution to this crisis. The Zionist occupation continues in numerous regions of Lebanon, as well as the destruction inflicted by the Zionist occupation on Lebanese towns and villages and on Palestine refugee camps. Arrests and imprisonment of patriots continues.

The Conference demands the immediate release of all Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners kept in Israeli prisons.

The Conference expresses its full support of the Lebanese people in its struggle against Israeli occupation and demands the complete withdrawal of all Israeli military forces from Lebanon, the Golan heights and from all other occupied Arab territories.

The Conference expresses also its solidarity with the anti-Zionist and democratic forces who are fighting in Israel against the Israeli policy. □

### FINLAND SUPPORTS PALESTINE

A majority of the members of the Finnish parliament endorsed a resolution supporting the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and independence, and calling for an international peace conference with PLO participation. This resolution of the parliament of Finland is an endorsement of the recommendations of the International Conference on the Question of Palestine which was convened under U.N. auspices in Geneva in 1983. □



### PUBLICATIONS

from

Palestine Research and Educational Center

- Muhammad Hallaj, *The Palestinians and the PLO*. Information Papers Series, No. 1, September 1983. \$1.00
- Alfred T. Moleah, *Israel and South Africa: Partners in Repression*. Information Papers Series, No. 2, January 1984. \$1.00
- Yehoshua Sobol, *You Can Only Weep*. Life Under Occupation Series, No. 1, September 1983. Free
- Avigdor Feldman, *The West Bank: Oppression by Law*. Life Under Occupation Series, No. 2, January 1984. Free (out of print).

## In Brief

### FEWER COLONISTS

Fewer people immigrated to Israel in 1985 than in any other year since the Jewish state was established in Palestine 37 years ago. In 1985, immigration to Israel was 41 percent below the previous year, and net immigration was negative. The number of arrivals in Israel was 11,298 while the number of emigrants reached 30,000.

### ZIONIST LOGIC

Most Americans would agree that Israel is to blame for encouraging Americans to betray their country, as it did in the case of Jonathan Pollard. Not true, says the defense reporter of *The Jerusalem Post*. In a front page article on the Pollard scandal, he argued that it was really the fault of the U.S. Navy. He said: "If the U.S. Navy had been as conscientious in guarding its secrets as is the investigating team now probing alleged Israeli espionage, there would have been no Pollard affair."

### YOU FIGURE IT OUT

The Israeli English-language newspaper *The Jerusalem Post* [international edition, 21 December 1985] published the following news item on its front page. It published it without comment, and so do we.

"The military government Saturday served notice it would not let prominent West Bank and Gaza Strip personalities go to Jordan to try to persuade PLO leader Yasser Arafat to accept UN Resolutions 242 and 338. The notables were scheduled to meet the PLO leader on Monday."





## POGROMS IN ISRAEL

### *Indoctrination in Xenophobia*

Anti-Arab pogroms in Israel have become a common phenomenon. Although indiscriminate anti-Arab violence is usually associated with fanatical settlers in the Palestinian territories occupied in 1967, Palestinians in Israel have also been victimized by it, most recently in the town of Afula south of Nazareth.

Professor Ze'ev Sternhell of the department of political science at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem blames this form of Israeli racism on the country's educational system. The following is a part of an interview conducted by Motti Basok and published in the Israeli daily *Al Hamishmar* of 11 September 1985:

**Q:** *The Jews have begun staging pogroms in Afula and in the [occupied] territories. What are the roots of this strange phenomenon?*

**A:** The phenomenon of mob rioting in times of crisis, expending

## SEPARATE AND UNEQUAL

A new report on apartheid in its last remaining fortresses, Israel and South Africa, has just been published by the Chicago-based human rights organization, the Palestine Human Rights Campaign. The 100-page report includes essays by different writers dealing with various aspects of apartheid as it is practiced in Israel and South Africa. *Separate And Unequal*, edited by Louise Cainkar, also includes a bibliography and appendices.

The theme of the report is condensed in the following paragraph from its preface: "The parallels between South Africa's system of legalized racism and that of Israel are well-known in academic circles but rarely discussed in the mainstream media, peace community or halls of Congress. Israel's systematic colonization of Palestine, its strategies to create Bantustans in the occupied West Bank, Gaza Strip and Golan Heights, its attempt to delegitimize and avoid the elected leadership of the Palestinians, its brutal tactics of military control and preemptive warfare, and its doctrine of racial supremacy all have their parallels in South Africa." □

Other studies published by PHRC in 1985 are *Israeli Settler Violence in the Occupied Territories* and *All in the Name of the Bible*.

its fury on minority groups resident among it, is quite common in human history. We have national and other kinds of gaps among us similar to—or possibly worse than—those in other countries. We also have manifestations of messianic, mystical nationalism. These burst out in times of crisis and nourish pogrom movements.

**Q:** *How can it be combatted?*

**A:** ... I think the gaps and omissions in Israel's educational system are extremely grave—though I am referring to something else entirely from what is usually meant. I am not referring to education for democracy in the trivial sense of this concept, although I am not putting that down. But that alone will not help us in the war we face, a war which goes far deeper.

The real problem is the entire way of looking at the world which Israel's educational system and society inculcate in our children. When the entire educational concept and curriculum are aimed at underscoring the uniqueness of the Jewish people, denying the universal elements, then the picture of the world which the Israeli child receives is of a people that dwells alone, a people perpetually fighting for its existence, a people forever persecuted. If that be the case, then this people has the right to take its revenge on all foreign elements, which are *per se* defined as hostile. The outsider is different, therefore he is the enemy. This is the basic formula underlying all xenophobia, and it forms the basis for pogroms.... □

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